WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
● 621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

WT As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
661 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
792 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
241 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
651 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
423 of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid any revenue whatsoever.

WT The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
792 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
795 spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *távás* or *togochís*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 Chapter III, D.

621 Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

[425]

173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

423

The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Ranglói, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

[651]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans A-47
Dards AV3

D 162 549 771 D [764] D 764 D 751 WT 563 443 671

for this extraordinary arrangement by the fact that originally the Dards were Mohammedans, and presumably have not been able entirely to throw off this allegiance. It is stated that in one of their villages, they actually found a burial ground; sure proof to them of a Mohammedan ancestry, for the Buddhist burns his dead, whilst it is the Mohammedan that inters. This may be a satisfactory explanation of their religious ideas, but from whence have they derived all their taboos? Thus the Brogpa must not raise fowl, nor may he eat their eggs. The cow may be employed for the ploughing of his fields, but the gods would most certainly be displeased were he to drink their milk, or even use the butter which is made from the same. In other villages the eating of fish is taboo, and by the look and smell of them washing surely must be also. In fact they avow that it is "Krims med" not the custom. For some time it almost seemed to us as if vaccination was also on their list of prohibitions, for, although they had actually begged us to come for this very purpose, it took the three of us quite a long time cajoling, threatening, entreating and advising them, before they would undergo this fearful operation. At last one faced it, soon to be followed by the others, so that eventually we had quite a busy morning vaccinating. A week later this must have been a sore village, where most of the people wished vaccination had been taboo, but by then we were well away with the knowledge that, should smallpox attack Hanu, it would find the defences fairly strong.

Now let us pay a visit to the Khampas, although it wants a George Borrow to describe these gipsies of Western Tibet. Kham, from whence they come, is a province of Tibet, but when we see the numbers of them who wander over the Indian parts of the Himalayas, we begin to wonder whether any of them are left "at home." Evidently the Khampa finds it more lucrative to wander like our own gipsies than to stay on his native soil. As the bazar in Leh provides most of the things needed by the people who inhabit the upper valley of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
● 621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the
273 exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*